DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 157 857 SO 011 103

AUTHOR Friedlander, Henry
TITLE On the Holocaust: A Critique of the Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks Accompanied by an Annotated Bibliography.
INSTITUTION B'nai B'rith, New York, N.Y. Anti-Defamation League.
PUB DATE 73
NOTE 32p.
AVAILABLE FROM Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016 ($0.75, paper cover)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Annotated Bibliographies; Educational Problems; European History; Higher Education; *History Textbooks; *Jews; Modern History; Secondary Education; *Textbook Content; Textbook Evaluation
IDENTIFIERS *Holocaust; *Nazi Persecution

ABSTRACT

The booklet reviews the largely inadequate treatment of Nazi persecution of the Jews in history textbooks and presents an annotated list of other books which treat the Holocaust in depth. Studies of texts commonly used in high school, college freshman survey of Western civilization courses, and advanced university history courses show that discussion of the Holocaust is bland and superficial. Some texts, such as R. R. Palmer's survey of modern Europe, briefly mention the murder of Jews and identify the extermination camps, but they do not provide detailed discussion. Even more recently published paperback history "essay" books skim over the persecution and killing. The author concludes that this reticence is due to the fact that scholars have been unwilling to recognize and acknowledge the fact of genocide. For students who want to study the Holocaust on their own, the bibliography lists approximately 150 resources. These are categorized as (1) reference materials (bibliographies and journals), (2) studies of anti-Semitism and the Third Reich, (3) histories and interpretations of the catastrophe, (4) descriptions of ghettos and camps, (5) eyewitness accounts, and (6) world reactions. (AV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 157785

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Nancy Slater
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ON THE HOLOCAUST

A Critique of the Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks Accompanied by an Annotated Bibliography

HENRY FRIEDLANDER

SO 011 102

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

© COPYRIGHT 1972, 1973
ANTI - DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

FOR MARILYN

SBN 0-88464-002-7

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

3

The Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks

The murder of millions of Jews is central to any discussion of Hitler's Germany, because for the Nazis the war against the Jews became the only objective to be pursued with single-minded determination and without any deviation. At times they might compromise with the Churches, with the West, even with the Bolsheviks, but never with the Jews. The Nazis persecuted their political and ideological opponents —Marxists, Liberals, or Churchmen—for what they believed, said, or did; only Jews suffered for just existing. Against the Jews they applied administrative measures without regard for the age, sex, nationality, or politics of their victims; while, still governed by self-interest and reason, they employed against their actual opponents pseudo-judicial procedures which, however perverted, still granted to the accused a remnant of protection. Even in the camps political opponents, including members of the Resistance, had a chance to survive degradation and torture; only Jews—and Gypsies—were gassed as a matter of policy.

That Germans killed Jews during the Second World War is widely known but, considering the importance of the Jewish fate in the Nazi scheme, the details of how the murderers killed and how the victims perished are surprisingly almost unknown.

In 1961 a study of American high school textbooks showed that their treatment of Nazism was brief, bland, superficial, and misleading. It found that racism and anti-Semitism received only perfunctory coverage and that the Holocaust, if mentioned at all, was discussed in a few lines which usually transformed millions shot or gassed into thousands mistreated or killed and organized mass murder into an excess of traditional Jew-hatred.[1]

There is no reason to believe that these textbooks have improved during the last decade. Moreover, even at the universities coverage of the Holocaust in history textbooks is not substantially better than in those used at the high schools ten years ago. Thus, a survey of West-

ern civilization widely used by college freshmen takes 131 lines to discuss the persecution of Jansenists and Huguenots by Louis XIV, but only eight to discuss the persecution of Jews during the Second World War. It mentions Dunkirk and Stalingrad, but not Auschwitz and Treblinka. Discussing "conquered and intimidated peoples" it alludes to "mass extermination in the appalling concentration camps," but does not even mention Jews.[2]

Textbooks used in advanced university history courses are not much better. Space does not permit a complete analysis. But perhaps I can illustrate their deficiency, and thus the failure of the articulate classes to face the Holocaust, by citing a few examples—selected at random—showing how authors who should know better only talk about the Jewish Catastrophe in passing if they mention it at all.

Thus, R. R. Palmer's survey of modern Europe, often considered the best of its kind, does mention the murder of six million Jews. It even gives the names of some of the extermination centers (but surprisingly they do not appear in an otherwise excellent index). However, these short, though incisive, comments are submerged in other information and spread across a number of different pages. Nowhere do we find a detailed discussion of the Holocaust, which does not even get its own paragraph. The students, who learn nothing specific, will not remember anything.[3]

Although Palmer's coverage of the Holocaust is unsatisfactory, it is still far superior to that of other authors, who exhibit an ingenious ability to avoid the subject. Thus, Gordon Craig, an expert in German history, barely mentions the Jews. In his text, they only appear in his chapter on Germany as "non-Aryans" fired from the civil service. In his chapter on the war, he lists its casualties without mentioning Jews. In his discussion of German behavior in the East, he analyzes their mistreatment of civilians with the same omission. Only while talking about the recapture of Kiev does he mention—as an afterthought between parentheses—that the Germans had killed all Jews in that city. Apart from this, the students will not find anything on the Holocaust, not even the names of the extermination camps—except in a puzzling reference where Craig compares the brutality practiced in the camps run by Vichy France in North Africa for "foreigners who had volunteered for service in the Foreign Legion" to conditions in Auschwitz and Dachau.[4]

Of course, Craig's book is a rather gross example, but unfortunately it is not unique. Even textbooks concentrating on the 20th century exhibit a similar blind spot; when they do touch on the Holocaust they are seldom more detailed than Palmer's survey. For example, Stuart

Hughes's widely used text openly speaks of the Holocaust, but fails to treat it in detail as a separate subject. True, unlike Craig, Hughes does not submerge the fate of the Jews in that of all other peoples caught by the war. In his coverage of the Nazi regime, he sets aside adequate space to describe the attack upon Germany's Jews before the war. He shows how the racist ideology led to the Nuremberg Laws, to the 1938 pogrom, to economic spoliation, and to the flight of the Jews. He correctly points out that "anti-Semitism and the concentration camp together created a demonic atmosphere of torture and frenzy which made Hitlerism unique in modern history," and shows that during the war most German Jews would die "in the holocaust of six million of their coreligionists that ranks as the greatest crime of modern times." It is therefore surprising that after this admirably forthright discussion Hughes only gives eight lines to the Holocaust in his chapter on the war. Students will not find any details about the "greatest crime."[5]

This hesitancy to discuss the Holocaust is not confined to traditional textbooks. We find the same story in the new type of history—more essay than text—available at reasonable prices in paperback editions. Well written and beautifully illustrated, they are designed for the general public as well as the college student. For our purposes two of these books by specialists in German history covering the 20th century are instructive.

Felix Gilbert's study in "The Norton History of Modern Europe" avoids mentioning the Holocaust. After the usual passing references to Hitler's anti-Semitism and the anti-Jewish legislation of the 1930's, he discusses oppression and resistance in Europe under German rule. But in the two pages he gives to this subject, only eight lines cover the Jewish fate. Without even mentioning names or places, he comments that "The number of those who were killed—about six million—is almost beyond imagination."[6] Obviously, with this kind of treatment the deed and the victims will remain an unimaginable abstraction for the reader.

A. J. P. Taylor's study in the British "History of European Civilization Library" is quite different. Although some historians have ranked him among the revisionists and accused him—unjustifiably, I believe—of downgrading Hitler's crimes, Taylor's treatment of the Holocaust stands out among the bland discussions we find in all other textbooks. True, he also does not provide the details needed for a thorough discussion in the classroom, but this is understandable in a provocative essay; still, though his book is substantially shorter than Gilbert's, he spends more space on the Jewish fate than the latter.

More important, Taylor treats the Je[illegible]atastrophe as an integral part of the Nazi era. With unusual candor, he talks about Nazi barbarism without hiding the acquiescence of the churches and of the democracies which, even worse, closed their doors against the victims. Without mincing words, he tells how Jews were segregated, massacred, and finally killed in "gas-chambers of a most scientific type." Unlike all other textbook authors, Taylor sees the Holocaust as "an intrinsic part of the New Order," rejecting the interpretation that views it as "the aberration of a few Nazis or even solely of Hitler himself." Even more unusual, Taylor, concluding that "Every civilization has its characteristic monuments. . . . The monument of German civilization was the death camp of Auschwitz," places alongside his text two photographs from the extermination centers.[7]

Some might disagree with Taylor's pedagogical methods. But after reading his essay teachers and students will not by-pass the Holocaust. They might even study it further, something that is unlikely after reading the bland and evasive accounts in the other texts.[8]

It becomes clear how unique is Taylor's essay and how pervasive is bland evasion when we look at the college textbooks in German history. Here, if anywhere, the student should be able to learn about the Holocaust; unfortunately he does not. Thus, Marshall Dill's history of Germany in the University of Michigan series adequately covers the plight of the German Jews before the denouement, but, like all other texts, does not seriously treat the Holocaust during the war. In less than one paragraph, Dill mentions the destruction of European Jewry. And, once again, an author finds himself unable to discuss the details of these "almost incredible" events.[9]

Coverage is not substantially better in the late Hajo Holborn's far more detailed work. In the last volume of his three-volume history, Holborn adequately treats the anti-Jewish repression before 1939, but, as usual, passes over the roundups and the killings during the war in one paragraph. More detailed than Dill, he does mention the *Einsatzgruppen* and the extermination camps; he even talks about the Wannsee Conference called by Heydrich, but, hesitant to be more specific, uses the passive voice to tell us that there "agreement was reached on the final program"; he leaves the impression that Wannsee was purely an SS affair, thus preventing his readers from discovering that many Ministries—including Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Interior—sent representatives to and received memoranda about a conference assembled to coordinate mass murder.[10]

One exception to the usual treatment proves that authors of textbooks could give to the Holocaust as much space as they reserve for

other, sometimes less important, topics. Thus, students will find the most thorough discussion in Pinson's scholarly history. In five paragraphs, the late Koppel Pinson, a former editor of *Jewish Social Studies*, discusses the brutality, size, and geography of the Jewish Catastrophe; he outlines the development and organization of what the perpetrators called "The Final Solution," and also shows how civil service and industry collaborated. Yet even here the treatment of the Holocaust, though adequate and better than anywhere else, remains skeletal, the minimum acceptable.[11]

The failure to reveal details about the Holocaust is not due to ignorance or ill will; the authors we have discussed are knowledgeable and humane scholars. How then can we explain their reticence? The answer, it would seem, is that scholars have been unwilling to recognize and to acknowledge the fact of genocide. Thus, even Stuart Hughes, who, as we have seen, clearly categorizes the murder of the Jews as an unprecedented crime, understandably prefers to see this crime as a macabre excess. He therefore argues, after discussing it, that "These demonic features, however, were not central to Fascism. The tendency of historians to focus attention on such horrifying aspects of the system has frequently obscured the less spectacular side of its relationship to the society and the economy which it dominated."[12]

But Hughes is wrong—and not only by failing to see that SS, concentration camps, and genocide were an essential part of the Nazi system—when he contends that most historians have concentrated on the criminality of the regime. On the contrary, genteelness seems to prevent most scholars from facing the history of the Holocaust. Most seem to feel that it would be indelicate to discuss details; it is here that Taylor is such a refreshing exception.

The anti-Nazi historian Golo Mann, scion of a famous family, exemplifies this genteelness. His study of modern Germany, now available in an English translation, shows us best why historians have been unable to confront the Holocaust.[13] While Mann devotes a separate section of five pages to the story of the German Resistance, he discusses the Holocaust in passing when dealing with other matters and fails altogether to treat the SS, the police, or the concentration camps.

Mann mentions the Jewish fate in a general section on the "Character and Course of the War."[14] There in a line or two he mentions the murder of the Jews in Poland while covering the Polish campaign, the murder of those in Russia while covering the Russian war, and that "the Jews in France and in the Netherlands" suffered the same fate while covering events in Western Europe. He also affirms that

"the gas chambers in the extermination camps in Poland where Europe's Jews, millions of them, were killed" was "the worst" of all Nazi crimes.

Surrounding his short references are Mann's explanations and comments which, it seems to me, are even more representative of historians—and scholars in general—than the examples I have listed seem to indicate.

Mann does agree that "There can be no doubt about a crime which happened in our time and which will cast a shadow on the image of man and his story for ever." But he argues that "the worst" of all, the extermination by gas, "was then known only to a very small number of criminals." Of course, even if we accept this, it does not apply to Russia where, Mann acknowledges, officers and men of the Army knew about the mass shooting. Quoting Carl Goerdeler's lament, "What have they done to the proud army of the wars of Liberation and William I," Mann blames [illegible] and objects to the idea "that the German Army as a whole behaved more brutally than other armies"; as if to prove this point he later discusses the "nightly mass murders" committed by the Allied air forces over German cities.[15]

Thus the deed remains, the means and the culprits continue to elude us. All Mann tells us is that "the worst crimes were committed by units of the SS and the SD," adding only the curious proviso, "Let us not describe and list these things. But let us not think either that inhuman cruelty is a specifically German characteristic. The French under Napoleon did similar things in Spain—one need only look at Goya's drawings. If the leaders erect a system out of bestiality there will always be a minority willing to obey. This has been so everywhere at all times."[16]

How then does the historian explain the Holocaust? Again Mann gives us the clearest answer: "Just as the Army looked the other way and did not want to know about these things, the historian also does not like to speak of them. These are deeds and figures which the imagination can not grasp, which the mind refuses to believe, however clearly they can be proved by reason."[17] As to the Jewish victims, Mann asks, "Who can visualize four or six million human beings, men, women, and children, picked up at random, in the devilish gas chambers of Auschwitz and Maidanek?" And thus he concludes, "Darkness hides this vilest crime ever perpetrated by man against man."[18] We can only add that if we leave it to the historians and their textbooks ignorance and distortion will not only hide but bury it.[19]

NOTES

1. Gerald Krefetz, "Nazism: The Textbook Treatment," *Congress Bi-Weekly: A Review of Jewish Interest*, xxviii, 16 (Nov. 13, 1961), 5-7. Lloyd Marcus reached a similar conclusion. His analysis of 48 high school social studies texts revealed that "there is a paucity of forthright material on what Hitler did to millions of minority group members in Germany and the lands he conquered. Seventeen of the 48 textbooks omit all mention of Nazi persecution. Of the remaining 31, only nine give a reasonably clear presentation of systematic persecution and wholesale extermination. The other 22 minimize or gloss over important aspects of this topic." See his *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961), 24. The coverage of Nazism in high school social studies texts improved only slightly during the following decade. See Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks: A Study of Their Treatment in Social Studies Texts* (New York and Chicago: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and Quadrangle Books, 1970), 53: "As a group, the textbooks examined for this study are hardly more adequate...than those reviewed in 1960.... In fact, twelve of the fifteen social problems or civics texts reviewed did not mention the Nazi atrocities at all!"

2. Wallace K. Ferguson and Geoffrey Brunn, *A Survey of European Civilization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 4th ed., 1969), II, 839, 874.

3. R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York: Knopf, 4th ed., 1971), esp. 870, 871, 875, 876, 893-4.

4. Gordon A. Craig, *Europe Since 1815* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 3rd ed., 1971), 588, 659, 686, 687, 670.

5. H. Stuart Hughes, *Contemporary Europe: A History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 3rd ed., 1971), 249, 240, 349.

6. Felix Gilbert, *The End of the European Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 224, 231-32, 299.

7. A. J. P. Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), 144, 169 (orig. published in London in 1964 by Thames and Hudson).

8. I should add here that not one of the many volumes in the widely used Problem Series published by Heath and by Holt-Rinehart-Winston treats the Holocaust. Even texts concentrating on just the Second World War are no help. Thus, though straightforward, the discussion of the Holocaust occupies only one paragraph in John L. Snell, *Illusion and Necessity: The Diplomacy of Global War, 1939-1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin [paper], 1963), 101-2. The best treatment in a general work is probably the last volume of the scholarly "Rise of Modern Europe" series: Gordon Wright, *The Ordeal of Total War, 1939-1945* (New York: Harper and Row [Torchbooks], 1968), 126-28.

9. Marshall Dill, jr., *Germany: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, revised ed., 1970), 370-71, 412.

10. Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*, Vol. III: *1840-1945* (New York: Knopf, 1969), 759-61, 810. On the involvement of the German Ministries, see Nuernberg Military Tribunal, *Trials of War Criminals* (15 vols.; Washington: GPO, 1949-53),

Case 11: U.S. vs. Ernst von Weizsaecker, et. al. (The Ministries Case), Vol. XIII, pp. 118ff. On Wannsee and other such conferences see there esp. the various documents labeled NG-2586.

11. Koppel S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 2nd ed., 1966), 524-25. Perhaps the detail provided by Pinson is the best we can expect because the nature of textbooks imposes a limitation on depth. But Pinson takes an entire chapter to analyze the German Revolution of 1918-19, a subject skipped by all other texts. This kind of coverage, plus his citations from original sources, makes his text so unusual and so valuable. Thus it is unfortunate that Pinson does not take a chapter, or part of one, to analyze the Holocaust, a subject which is as essential to an understanding of the Nazi era as the Revolution of 1918-19 is to that of the Weimar period.

12. Hughes, *Contemporary Europe*, 249-50. Referring to both the German and Italian varieties of Fascism, Hughes, we must admit, argues in his text for the Italian one as typical.

13. Golo Mann, *The History of Germany Since 1789*, transl. from the German by Marian Jackson (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968).

14. *Ibid.*, 466-83.

15. *Ibid.*, 474-75, 489.

16. *Ibid.*, 482.

17. *Ibid.*, 474.

18. *Ibid.*, 482.

19. A good example is *The American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), a prestigious work with "20,000 items selected and annotated by more than 230 experts...according to a plan devised by a committee of the American Historical Association." However, nowhere, not even in the chapters on "Recent History" or "The World Wars" does this plan provide us with a section on the Holocaust. The entire bibliography includes only one relevant item: the chapter on "International Relations" lis's a book published in 1943. Moreover, in the chapter on German history Hajo Holborn, its compiler, does not list a single book or article on the SS, the concentration camps, or, except for one work covering the Second Empire, on Jews and anti-Semitism.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

What the textbook writers are unwilling or unable to do, the interested student will have to do for himself. This annotated bibliography lists the more important works, primarily in English, on the Holocaust. In a relatively brief bibliography, many worthwhile books have had to be omitted, but the opening section devoted to Reference Materials provides a number of guides to further study.*

I.
REFERENCE MATERIALS

A. Bibliographies

For the serious student interested in pursuing the study of the Holocaust in greater detail a number of guides and bibliographies are now available.

Guide to Jewish History under Nazi Impact. Compiled by Jacob Robinson and Philip Friedman. Yad Vashem and Yivo Joint Documentary Project, Bibliographical Series No. 1. New York, 1960.

Indispensable. This massive guide contains over 3,500 entries, explanatory notes, and exemplary indices covering all aspects of the Holocaust, including interpretations, bibliographies, libraries, and documents.

Ten further volumes in this series, published by the two leading research institutes, include bibliographies of Hebrew and Yiddish books and articles and Randolph L. Braham's *The Hungarian Jewish Catastrophe: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1962).

Persecution and Resistance under the Nazis. Compiled by Ilse R. Wolff. The Wiener Library Catalogue Series No. 1. 2nd rev. ed. London, 1960.

From Weimar to Hitler: Germany, 1918-1933. Compiled by Ilse R. Wolff. The Wiener Library Catalogue Series No. 2. 2nd rev. ed. London, 1964.

German Jewry: Its History, Life and Culture. Compiled by Ilse R. Wolff. The Wiener Library Catalogue Series No. 3. London, 1958.

After Hitler: Germany, 1945-1963. Compiled by Helen Kehr. The Wiener Library Catalogue Series No. 4. London, 1963.

*Paperback editions have been indicated, even if they are no longer in print. Currently available paperback editions are listed in *Paperbound Books in Print.*

Prejudice: Racist, Religious, Nationalist. Compiled by Helen Kehr. The Wiener Library Catalogue Series No. 5. London, 1971.

Five valuable catalogues from the holdings of the Wiener Library in London.

La France: de l'affaire Dreyfus à nos jours. Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Catalogue No. 1. Paris, 1964.

La France, le troisième reich, Israël. Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Catalogue No. 2. Paris, 1968.

The two bibliographies from the holdings of the Paris Centre.

European War Crimes Trials: A Bibliography. Compiled and annotated by Inge S. Neumann. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1951.

Braham, Randolph L. *The Eichmann Case: A Source Book.* New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1969.

A comprehensive bibliography listing books and articles in all languages; it treats Eichmann, his abduction, his trial, world reactions, and the Hannah Arendt controversy.

Friedlander, Henry. *Refugees from Nazism.* New York: American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, in press.

An annotated bibliography on the German-Jewish refugees in the United States.

B. Journals

A number of scholarly journals cover, exclusively or in part, the history of the Holocaust. Containing important articles, they are also essential for reports on current research into the Jewish Catastrophe.

Le monde juive. Paris, 1946 ff.

The journal of the Parisian Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, perhaps the most impressive of the research institutes dedicated to the study of the Holocaust. The Centre, concentrating on events in France, has also published, in French, a large number of scholarly monographs.

Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Paris, 1950 ff.

The most important journal dealing with Nazi domination and anti Nazi Resistance in occupied Europe. Several times the journal dedicated an entire issue to a problem surrounding the Holocaust: "Le système concentrationaire allemand," IV, 15-16 (1954); "La condition des Juifs," VI, 24 (1956); "Camps de concentration," XII, 45 (1962).

The Wiener Library Bulletin. London, 1946 ff.

The extremely valuable publication of the Wiener Library, the impressive London institute dedicated to the study of Fascism, racism, and anti-

Semitism. Contains excellent bibliographies, short research articles, and a survey of the press. Since 1965 published in a changed and less valuable format.

Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance. Annual, irregular. Jerusalem, 1957 ff.

An annual publication dedicated exclusively to an investigation of the Holocaust, the *Studies* are published by the Yad Vashem Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial Authority, the official institute established in Jerusalem by the Government of Israel. Haphazardly edited and translated, the value of the articles varies a great deal; a few are good, some are fair, and many are poor. Yad Vashem also publishes a *Bulletin* in English (Jerusalem, 1957 ff.).

Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute. London: East and West Library, 1956 ff.

Annual publication of the Leo Baeck Institute (Jerusalem, London, and New York) founded by the Council of Jews from Germany. Expertly edited, the volumes contain valuable articles, many of them scholarly. Concentrating on German Jewish history before 1933, they have recently also included studies of anti-Semitism and of German Jewry in the Nazi era. Most important, each volume includes an annual bibliography compiled by the Wiener Library. The Institute also publishes scholarly monographs in English and in German and a *Bulletin* in German (Tel Aviv: Bitaon, 1957 ff.).

Yivo Bleter. Vilna and New York, 1931 ff.

The leading scholarly Yiddish journal, published since 1940 by the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, the New York successor to the Yiddish Scientific Institute of Vilna. Concentrating on the history and culture of East European Jewry, it also includes articles on the Holocaust; its first and second issue of Vol. 30 (1947) was dedicated to a study of the Catastrophe.

Every year an English translation of the most important articles appears in the *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science* (New York, 1946 ff.). The contributions, varying in scholarship, usually contain valuable information not otherwise available. Of special interest is Vol. VIII: "Studies on the epoch of the Jewish catastrophe, 1933-1945."

II.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE THIRD REICH

To understand, if possible, the causes of the Catastrophe, it is essential to probe the minds of those who planned and executed the murder of Europe's Jews. Of course, we still cannot truly understand how a supposedly civilized people in the heart of modern Europe could develop murder into an industry, in the process killing millions of men, women, and children with machinelike precision.

The following works attempt to explain the mystery posed by the Nazi phenomenon.

The first group includes histories and analyses of anti-Semitism and of Nazi ideology (without, however, listing works by anti-Semites). Some experts see the hatred of Jews in our times as unrelated to that of earlier ages, almost as *sui generis*, because anti-Semitism based on race differed substantially from that based on religion. Others, however, see it only as the last, and most ferocious, expression of an old, traditional hostility. But all agree that anti-Semitism was central to the Nazi phenomenon.

The second group lists studies of the Nazi regime. Because the literature on the Third Reich is already massive, only the most important and relevant works, excluding the writings of the Nazi leaders, have been included here.

A. Nazi Anti-Semitism and Its Roots

Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism.* 2nd rev. ed. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co. (Meridian paperback), 1958.

Brilliant, erudite, and influential analysis of the genesis and the nature of Nazi and Stalinist totalitarianism. Miss Arendt, an eminent political theorist, here shows the central importance of anti-Semitism to the ideology and of concentration camps to the organization of the totalitarian system.

Harcourt Brace has published *The Origins of Totalitarianism* as three separate paperbacks: *Antisemitism, Imperialism,* and *Totalitarianism.*

Byrnes, Robert F. *Anti-Semitism in Modern France: The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair.* Reprint. New York: Howard Fertig, 1969.

Includes a discussion of Edouard Drumont and the *Libre Parole.*

Cohn, Norman. *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* New York: Harper & Row (Torchbook paperback), 1969.

Brilliant and intuitive investigation of the roots of Nazi anti-Semitism. Tracing the fabrication and dissemination of the forgery known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* this scholarly study presents the argument that the Nazi racialist doctrine is a secularized version of medieval demonological anti-Semitism.

Friedrich, Carl J., ed. *Totalitarianism.* New York: Grosset & Dunlap (Universal Library paperback), 1964.

Proceedings of a 1953 conference on modern totalitarianism. Papers and discussion by the leading specialists are of a uniformly high quality.

Hay, Malcolm. *The Foot of Pride: The Pressure of Christendom on the People of Israel for 1900 years.* Boston: Beacon, 1950. Paperback edition 1960 as *Europe and the Jews.*

Interesting survey of anti-Semitism, strong on the Christian roots, by a Catholic historian.

Katz, Jacob. *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times.* New York: Schocken Books (paperback), 1962.

———,———. *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723-1939.* Transl. from the Hebrew by Leonard Oschry. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Two scholarly studies by an important Jewish historian probing Jewish-Gentile relations and thereby placing anti-Semitism in its historical context.

Klemperer, Victor. *L.T.I. Notizbuch eines Philologen.* Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1946.

Illuminating essay dissecting the language of the Third Reich *(Lingua Tertii Imperii).* Klemperer, a German Jewish philologist who escaped deportation, based his study on notebooks compiled during the Nazi years. His perceptive analysis reveals the hidden techniques of Nazi mythology.

Lichtheim, George. "Socialism and the Jews," *Dissent* (July-August 1968), 314-42. Reprinted in his *Collected Essays* (New York: Viking Press, 1973.)

Good summary of the relationship between Socialism and Jewry. Concentrating on France, it treats both Left-wing anti-Semitism and the Jewish participation in radicalism.

Massing, Paul R. *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Antisemitism in Imperial Germany. Reprint. New York: Howard Fertig, 1967.*

Scholarly history of German anti-Semitism between 1870 and 1914. Thorough discussion of Stöcker's Christian Social movement as well as the rise of the early racial anti-Semites. Also valuable for its treatment of the reactions of the political parties, including the Socialists.

Mosse, George L. *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich.* New York: Grosset & Dunlap (Universal Library paperback), 1964.

A comprehensive survey of the ideological roots of Nazism, tracing its growth from the early nineteenth century, with special emphasis on education and the youth movement.

———,———. *Germans and Jews: The Right, the Left, and the Search for a "Third Force" in Pre-Nazi Germany.* New York: Howard Fertig, 1970.

A collection of essays that probes the intellectual roots of German totalitarianism, with special emphasis on the role of anti-Semitism and the position of the German Jews.

Mosse, Werner E. and Arnold Paucker, eds. *Entscheidungsjahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik.* 2nd rev. ed. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966.

A major scholarly study of the position of the Jews in Germany in the years preceding the Nazi seizure of power. The essays by various specialists treat anti-Semitism, the attitude of the churches and the political parties, the Jewish condition, and the Jewish response.

Parkes, James. *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Anti-Semitism.* New York: Atheneum (paperback), 1969.

Originally published in the 1930's, this is a balanced scholarly attempt to trace the Christian roots of modern anti-Semitism in the late Classical and early Medieval period.

Pinson, Koppel S., ed. *Essays on Anti-Semitism.* 2nd rev. ed. New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1946.

A collection of authoritative articles treating the economic, social, and psychological dimensions of anti-Semitism as well as its appearance in various periods and countries. Includes Hannah Arendt on France and W. Gurian on Germany.

Poliakov, Leon. *The History of Anti-Semitism.* 3 vols. New York: Vanguard Press. Vol. I: *From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews* (1964); Vol. II: *From Mohammed to the Marranos* (1973); Vol. III: *De Voltaire à Wagner* (French edition, 1968; not yet translated).

These massive volumes, scholarly and perceptive, are the best history of anti-Semitism now available.

Poliakov has also published a brilliant essay showing how after Hitler anti-Semitism survived as anti-Zionism in the Soviet world, exported from there to the West after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war: *De l'antisionisme à l'antisémitisme* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1969).

Pulzer, Peter G. J. *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria.* New York: John Wiley (paperback), 1964.

A brief history of anti-Semitism in the German lands. Although more selective than Massing (above) on German anti-Semitism, it includes the more virulent Austrian variety. Valuable for its discussion of Schönerer and Lueger.

Reichmann, Eva G. *Hostages of Civilization: The Social Sources of National Socialist Anti-Semitism.* Reprint. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971.

An interesting sociological investigation, erudite but not always convincing, which concludes that the Catastrophe does not prove the failure of Emancipation. It argues that hatred of Jews in modern Germany did not reflect actual group conflicts but, based on old stereotypes, represented a projection of German fears and insecurities.

Samuel, Maurice. *The Great Hatred.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

An erudite and suggestive polemic first published in 1940; it traces the connections between Christian and Nazi Jew-hatred.

Schorsch, Ismar. *Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism, 1870-1914.* New York and Philadelphia: Columbia University Press and the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972.

The first scholarly attempt to probe the Jewish reactions to modern anti-Semitism, this penetrating study of the institutional response to the survival of Jew-hatred in Imperial Germany shows how the interaction between the German Jews and their hostile environment shaped the organizational and intellectual life of German Jewry, a model for other post-Emancipation Jewish communities.

Snyder, Louis. *The Dreyfus Case: A Documentary History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973.
Original documents tell the history of the Affair. Very valuable.

Sterling, Eleonore. *Er is wie du: Aus der Frühgeschichte des Antisemitismus in Deutschland (1815-1850)*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1956.
This study probes the survival, and secularization, of religious anti-Semitism in Germany between the defeat of Napoleon and the Revolution of 1848.

Stern, Fritz. *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday (Anchor paperback), 1965.
A major scholarly study of Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn, and Moeller van den Bruck as intellectual precursors of the Third Reich.

Tal, Uriel. *Christians and Jews in the Second Reich* (In Hebrew). Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1969.
Major scholarly study of anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany before the First World War. For an analysis of this unfortunately not yet translated Hebrew work, see Ismar Schorsch's discussion in *Judaism*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer 1970), 373-77.

Trachtenberg, Joshua. *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Antisemitism*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943. New York: Meridian Books (paperback), 1961.
An excellent study of the demonic aspects of Christian anti-Semitism. By tracing the development of the common stereotypes concerning Jews as devils, it provides the best discussion of the medieval roots of the Nazi conception of the Jews.

Viereck, Peter. *Metapolitics: The Roots of the Nazi Mind*. New York: Capricorn Books (paperback), 1961.
An early and still valuable study first published in 1941 with the subtitle *From the Romantics to Hitler*. Traces the Germanic ideology from Fichte and Father Jahn through Wagner to Rosenberg and Hitler.

Weinreich, Max. *Hitler's Professors*. New York: Yivo, 1946.
Text and documents show how Germany's intellectual community supported the Nazi anti-Jewish program.

B. The Nazi Regime

Baumont, Maurice, John H. E. Fried, Edmond Vermeil, et al. *The Third Reich*. New York: Praeger, 1955.
An older, now slightly dated, collection of essays by eminent specialists written under the auspices of UNESCO. Includes an essay on anti-Semitism by Leon Poliakov.

Bracher, Karl Dietrich. *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism*. Transl. from the German by Jean Steinberg. New York: Praeger (paperback), 1970.

A detailed, comprenensive, and penetrating analysis of the Third Reich by a leading German political scientist. His earlier German studies—*Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik* (1955) and *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung* (1962 with W. Sauer and G. Schulz)—have become the standard works.

Bullock, Alan. *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*. New York: Harper and Row (Torchbook paperback), 1964.

The standard scholarly biography.

Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess. Transl. from the German. New York: Popular Library (paperback), 1961.

The revealing memoirs of the S.S. commander of the Auschwitz extermination camp, written in a Polish jail before his execution.

Dallin, Alexander. *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945: A Study of Occupation Policies*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957.

Extremely valuable. A scholarly study based on captured German documents, it provides the details on how the Nazis planned and implemented their ruthless domination in occupied Russia. Shows how different ministries pushed competing policies: delineates the jurisdictional conflicts between the military, civil, and S.S. authorities.

Davidson, Eugene. *The Trial of the Germans: An Account of the Twenty-two Defendants Before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg*. New York: Collier Books (paperback), 1966.

Excellent popular treatment; it provides biographies of leading Nazis not easily available in English elsewhere.

Heiden, Konrad. *Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power*. Transl. by Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1944 (also Beacon paperback).

An older but still important work by the earliest student of the Hitler movement. A perceptive, biographical study of Nazism from its inception to 1934.

Höhne, Heinz. *The Order of the Death's Head: The Story of Hitler's S.S.* Transl. from the German by Richard Barry. New York: Coward-McCann, 1970. (Paperback, Ballantine Books, 1971.)

A thorough study by a German journalist who, trying to revise earlier interpretations, sees the S.S. as split into diverse groups struggling for power, not as a monolithic criminal organization.

Krausnick, Helmut and others. *Anatomy of the S.S. State*. Translated by Richard Barry, Marian Jackson, and Dorothy Long. Introduction by Elizabeth Wiskemann. London: Collins, 1968.

Scholarly and detailed studies of the SS and its system of terror. Originally designed as expert testimony by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte at post-war German trials of Nazi criminals, these essays provide the best analysis of the SS state. Hans Buchheim treats the SS as an instrument of domination; Hans-Adolf Jacobsen the killing of Russian POW's; Martin Broszat the system of the concentration camps; and Helmut Krausnick the persecution of the Jews.

Neumann, Franz. *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*. New York: Harper & Row (Torchbook paperback), 1966.

An older work by an eminent political scientist originally published in 1942 but still important. The best of the Marxist interpretations, it is especially valuable for its probing analysis of the interrelationship between politics and economics.

Reitlinger, Gerald. *The S.S.: Alibi of a Nation, 1922-1945.* New York: Viking (Compass paperback), 1957.

The best available history of the S.S. Provides a valuable account of the origins, development, and functions of Himmler's empire. Essential for an understanding of the various S.S. Offices like the RSHA, which included the Gestapo and the WVHA, which included the Inspectorate of the Concentration Camps.

Schoenbaum, David. *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany 1933-1939.* New York: Doubleday (Anchor paperback), 1967.

A revisionist attempt to probe the impact of the Nazi regime upon various segments of German society before 1939 and thus to discover why most Germans supported Hitler.

Taylor, Telford. *Sword and Swastika: Generals and Nazis in the Third Reich.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952 (also Quadrangle paperback).

Valuable history of the German army in the Third Reich by the U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh R. *The Last Days of Hitler.* New York: Collier Books (paperback), 1966.

Perceptive biographical essay on the final days of the Third Reich. This study by an eminent English historian, ordered by British intelligence at the end of the war to discover the circumstances of Hitler's death, brilliantly dissects the nature of the Nazi regime.

Wheeler-Bennett, John W. *The Nemesis of Power: The German Army in Politics, 1918-1945.* 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press (paperback), 1972.

Solid and important history of the German army in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich.

III.
THE CATASTROPHE: HISTORIES AND INTERPRETATIONS

Today, twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War, we still do not possess an adequate history of the Catastrophe. This applies particularly to the Jewish response. Here the sources are still too fragmentary—covering too many countries, buried in too many archives—to permit a synthesis. Only a few brief attempts have so far appeared. Meanwhile, hoping that further research will soon produce the monographic literature essential for any synthesis, we must continue to rely on diaries and memoirs.

The Nazi crime, however, has already found its historians. Although the perpetrators wished to hide their deeds, they left behind

massive collections of documents, a tribute to modern bureaucracy and Teutonic thoroughness. From these papers, captured by the Allies and thus opened for research, scholars have been able to reconstruct history's most documented crime.

But the documents alone cannot fully convey to us the experience of the Holocaust. We tend to disbelieve them. We also need stories and pictures, which are listed at the end of this section. Eyewitness accounts, equally important, are listed in Section V.

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil.* New York: Viking (Compass paperback), 1964.

A brilliant critical essay on the Jerusalem trial by the foremost analyst of totalitarianism. The leading interpretation of the Catastrophe until now; it includes a penetrating analysis of Eichmann as the technician of mass murder, and a perceptive, but controversial, analysis of the Jewish Councils as unwilling instruments of the Nazi extermination program. Originally published in the *New Yorker.*

Bettelheim, Bruno. *The Informed Heart: Autonomy in a Mass Age.* New York: Avon Books (paperback), 1971.

An interesting, but not always convincing, psychological interpretation of the Jewish response by an eminent psychotherapist who spent a short time in Buchenwald before the war.

Braham, Randolph L., ed. *The Destruction of Hungarian Jewry: A Documentary Account.* 2 vols. New York: Pro Arte Publ. for the World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1963.

This massive documentary history includes photostatic reproductions of the original documents.

Dawidowicz, Lucy S. "Towards a history of the holocaust," *Commentary,* XLVII, 4 (Apr. 1969), 51-56.

A valuable historiographical essay, including a critical survey of research enterprises and a perceptive analysis of historical problems.

Esh, Shaul. "The dignity of the destroyed: towards a definition of the period of the holocaust," *Judaism,* XI, 2 (Spring 1962), 99-111.

A brief essay attempting a definition of the Holocaust as a subject.

Hausner, Gideon. *Justice in Jerusalem.* New York: Schocken Books (paperback), 1968

Survey of the Catastrophe and account of the Eichmann trial by the Israeli prosecutor.

Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews.* Chicago: Quadrangle (paperback), 1961.

Indispensable. The definitive scholarly history. Based on an exhaustive study of the documentary evidence, this massive work—769 pages of double-column text and numerous charts—describes in minute detail the conception and execution of the Nazi program of extermination, adding a convincing and perceptive analysis.

———,———, ed. *Documents of Destruction: Germany and Jewry 1933-1945.* Chicago: Quadrangle (paperback), 1971.

An excellent collection of original documents in English translation to accompany his history.

Leval, Eugene. *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry*. Zurich: The Central European Times Publ. Co. Ltd., 1948.
Detailed account. Documents and illustrations.

Levin, Nora. *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945*. New York: Schocken Books (paperback), 1973.
Popular history, conscientious and well-written. Attempts to write "from the inside," emphasizing the "failures" of German Jewry, the "dilemmas" of the Jewish Councils, and resistance.

Poliakov, Leon. *Harvest of Hate: The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe*. Translated from the French. Reprint. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971.
The best available survey of the Catastrophe. Brief, concise, yet still comprehensive, with extensive quotes from the original sources.

——— and Jacques Sabille. *Jews under the Italian Occupation*. Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1955.
Text and documents (translated) on the interesting problem of Italian policy in the occupied territories. Reveals the paradox that Fascist Italy refused to collaborate with the Nazis in killing the Jews. Poliakov treats occupied France, Sabille occupied Croatia and Greece. The only English publication of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine.

Presser, Jacob. *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*. Translated from the Dutch by Arnold Pomerans. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1969.
Scholarly account of the Nazi murder of the Jews in Holland. The first comprehensive history of the Jewish fate in one European country. Treats Jewish Councils, transit camps, deportations, extermination as well as the German policies.

Reitlinger, Gerald. *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*. New York: A. S. Barnes (Perpetua paperback), 1961.
The earliest comprehensive history, first published in 1953. Provides a description of the Nazi plan and a detailed account of its country-by-country implementation.

Robinson, Jacob. *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight: The Eichmann Trial, the Jewish Catastrophe, and Hannah Arendt's Narrative. New York: Macmillan, 1965.*
A vitriolic attack on Hannah Arendt and her Eichmann in Jerusalem. Attempts to refute her, page-by-page. Disjointed and apologetic, but unusually valuable for factual and bibliographical information provided in the text and in the massive end-notes.

———. *Psychoanalysis in a Vacuum: Bruno Bettelheim and the Holocaust*. New York: Yivo, 1970.
A similar, but much shorter and more readable, attack and refutation of Bettelheim's work.

Schleunes, Karl A. *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: Nazi Policy Toward German Jews, 1933-1939*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1970.
Treats the development of Nazi anti-Jewish policies as applied to German Jews before the War. Concludes that the lack of direction per-

mitted competing segments of Nazi officialdom to devise their own approaches in the years before Hitler ordered the physical destruction of the European Jews.

Sosnowski, Kiryl. *The Tragedy of Children under Nazi Rule.* Warsaw and Poznan: Zachodnia Agencja Prasowa (Western Press Agency), 1962.
English edition of a Polish work. Discusses the fate of children, including Jews, in the occupied countries, and concentrating on Poland. Sections treat birth and death rates, education and health, ghettos and camps. Illustrations, charts, documents.

Syrkin, Marie. "The literature of the holocaust," *Midstream,* XII, 5 (May, 1966), 3-20.
A sensitive and discriminating essay on diaries and memoirs.

Tenenbaum, Joseph. *In Search of a Lost People: The Old and the New Poland.* New York: Beechhurst Press, 1948.
A Jewish historian's account of his visit to Poland in 1946, recording his experiences and discoveries about the Jewish fate. Includes valuable information on ghettos and camps.

———. *Race and Reich: The Story of an Epoch.* New York: Twayne, 1956.
An early, not fully successful, attempt to analyze Nazism in thought and action. Treats racism, economic spoliation, and extermination.

Trunk, Isaiah. *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation.* New York: Macmillan, 1972.
The first scholarly attempt to discuss and analyze the Jewish Councils that ruled in the East European ghettos organized by the Nazis. Covering Poland, the Baltic lands, and occupied Russia, Trunk treats the appointment and organization of the Councils, their relation to ghetto society, and their administration of ghetto life (police, finance, health, etc.). For other works treating the ghettos, see also Section IV.

Art and Literature

Borowski, Tadeusz. *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen and Other Stories.* Translated from the Polish. New York: Viking Press, 1967.
A Polish poet's short stories, terrible in their simplicity, based on his experiences in Auschwitz. The best "literature" of the Holocaust.

Deschner, Günther. *Menschen im Ghetto.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Sachbuchverlag, 1969.
A pictorial study of ghetto life. Mostly from Warsaw, but also from Lodz and other ghettos.

Eschwege, Helmut, ed. *Kennzeichen J: Bilder, Dokumente, Berichte zur Geschichte der Verbrechen des Hitlerfaschismus an den deutschen Juden 1933-1945.* Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1966.
A pictorial record and accompanying documents. Particularly strong on the pre-war years and on the deportations of the German Jews.

Flinker, Moses. *Young Moshe's Diary.* Ed. by Shaul Esh. Transl. from the Hebrew. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Board of Jewish Education, 1971.
Diary of a young Polish Jewish boy born in Holland that covers his life in Brussels under Nazi occupation until his deportation to Auschwitz. Written

from an Orthodox and National Jewish perspective, it complements the diary of Anne Frank.

Frank, Anne. *The Diary of Anne Frank*. New York: Pocket Books (paperback), 1971.

The touching and optimistic diary of a young German Jewish girl, who later perished in Belsen, written while hiding from the Nazis in Amsterdam. Now world famous.

...I Never Saw Another Butterfly...Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp 1942-1944. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Captivating and haunting poems and drawings by Jewish children incarcerated in the Ghetto of Theresienstadt.

Salomon, Charlotte. *Charlotte: A Diary in Pictures*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1963.

A young German Jewish girl's surviving record in the form of colored drawings and brief text. Drawn in southern France before her deportation to Auschwitz, it provides a visual and somewhat gloomy counterpart to the more hopeful diary of the younger Anne Frank.

Schoenberner, Gerhard. *The Yellow Star: The Persecution of the Jews in Europe 1933-1945*. Translated from the German by Susan Sweet. New York: Bantam Books (paperback), 1973.

A comprehensive pictorial record. The photographs in the original German edition (*Der gelbe Stern: die Judenverfolgung in Europa*, Hamburg: Rütten and Loening, 1960) are reproduced with far more clarity.

Schwarz-Bart, André. *The Last of the Just*. Translated from the French. New York: Atheneum (paperback), 1961.

Novel emphasizing the demonic nature of the Holocaust and treating the Catastrophe as only the last, though more destructive and more modern, of a long line of persecutions.

Wiesel, Elie. *The Gates of the Forest*. Translated from the French. New York: Avon Books (paperback), 1967.

———. *A Beggar in Jerusalem*. Translated from the French. New York: Avon Books (paperback), 1971.

Two of Wiesel's novels probing the demonological dimensions of the Holocaust and blending its experiences—a link and an explanation—with stories of past and present Jewish travail.

IV.
GHETTOS AND CAMPS

The ghettos and camps erected by the Nazis formed the actual arena of the Catastrophe. To understand the Jewish response—and to solve the problems posed by Jewish resistance and the Jewish Councils (*Judenräte*)—we must therefore study these institutions as well as the round-ups and deportations that preceded them. No history of the Holocaust can be complete without insight into the world of the concentration camps. However, only a few monographs

cover this important topic; they are listed in this section. For understanding we must still turn to the valuable and indispensable eyewitness accounts. Only a portion have been published, and of those only a few are available in English. Still, the list is already so long that only the most important can be included here. They will be listed in the next section.

Adler, H. G. "Ideas toward a sociology of the concentration camp," *American journal of sociology*, LXIII, 5 (March 1958), 513-22.

———. *Theresienstadt 1941-1945: das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1955.
Definitive work on Theresienstadt. This massive scholarly study provides an historical account, a sociological analysis, and a psychological interpretation of this camp society, including its *Judenrat*. Model study of a ghetto as a "society under compulsion."

———. *Die verheimlichte Wahrheit: Theresienstädter Dokumente.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958.
A volume of annotated documents to accompany his history.

Arendt, Hannah. "Social science techniques and the study of concentration camps," *Jewish Social Studies*, XII, 1 (Jan. 1950), 49-64.
This article and that of H. G. Adler mentioned above explore the methodological problems of research on the concentration camps.

Bloom, Solomon F. "Dictator of the Lodz ghetto: the strange history of Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski," *Commentary*, VII, 2 (Feb. 1949), 111-22.
Brief history of the "Getto Litzmannstadt" in Lodz, including an analysis of its *Judenrat* chief, the "Elder" Rumkowski.

Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland.* Vol. I. Warsaw, 1946.
An early comprehensive account. Includes chapters on extermination and concentration camps. Of special interest is the coverage of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, and Chelmno (Kulmhof).

Cohen, Elie A. *Human Behavior in the Concentration Camp.* Transl. from the Dutch. New York: Grosset & Dunlap (Universal Library paperback), n.d.
A valuable study of the camp society by a survivor of Auschwitz and Mauthausen. Originally a thesis in psychiatry at the University of Utrecht, this analysis emphasizes psychological motivations and reactions.

Fisher, Julius S. "How many Jews died in Transnistria?" *Jewish Social Studies*, XX, 2 (Apr. 1958), 95-101.
Brief documented paper on Rumanian massacres.

Friedman, Philip. "Problems of research in Jewish 'self-government' (Judenrat) in the nazi period," *Yad Vashem Studies*, II (1958), 95-113.
Important analysis of the Jewish Councils. Valuable for its bibliographical notes.

———. "Jewish resistance," *Yad Vashem Studies*, II (1958), 113-31.
A significant essay on Jewish resistance, one of the few available. Valuable for its bibliographical notes.

———. *This was Oswiecim: The Story of a Murder Camp.* Transl. from the Yiddish by Joseph Leftwich. London: United Jewish Relief Appeal, 1946.
A brief history of Auschwitz.

Gringanz, Samuel. "The ghetto as an experiment of Jewish social organization," *Jewish Social Studies*, XI, 1 (Jan. 1949), 3-20.

———. "Some methodological problems in the study of the ghetto," *Jewish Social Studies*, XII, 1 (Jan. 1950), 65-72.
Two attempts to probe ghetto life.

Katz, Alfred. *Poland's Ghettos at War.* New York: Twayne, 1970.
Short documented study of Jewish political life in the ghettos of Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystock, Cracow, and Vilna.

Katz, Robert. *Black Sabbath: A Journey Through a Crime Against Humanity.* New York: Macmillan, 1969.
Detailed popular account of the round-up and deportation of the Jews in Rome on October 16, 1943.

Kogon, Eugen. *Der S.S. Staat: das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager.* Frankfort on the Main: Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte, 1946. English paperback editior as *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (Berkley Publ. Corp., 1950).
Early survey and analysis, originally composed for the U.S. Army, describing the camp world's organization, structure, and function. Concentrates on Buchenwald, where Kogon spent the war years as an Austrian anti-Nazi, but also applicable to other camps.

Kolb, Eberhard. *Bergen-Belsen: Geschichte des 'Aufenthaltslagers' 1943-1945.* Hanover: Verlag fuer Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1962.
Scholarly, perhaps a little pedantic, history of the Belsen camp by a young German historian, the most detailed account of a camp available. Text, documents, notes, and charts.

Levy, Claud and Paul Tillard. *Betrayal at the Vel d'Hiv.* Transl. from the French. New York: Hill and Wang, 1969.
Detailed popular account of the round-up of Parisian Jews on July 16, 1942, their confinement in the Vélodrome d'Hiver, and their deportation.

Poliakov, Leon. *Auschwitz.* Paris: Julliard Collection Archives, 1964.
A valuable short history of the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp. Text and documents. French paperback.

Roth, Cecil. "The last days of Jewish Salonica," *Commentary*, X, 1 (July 1950), 49-55.
An essay on the deportations of the Greek Jews from Salonica, the oldest Sephardic community.

Steiner, Jean-François. *Treblinka.* Translated from the French by Helen Weaver. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967 (also Signet paperback).
A documentary novel about the Treblinka extermination camp. Factual and powerful story, including a revolt by the prisoners.

Tenenbaum, Joseph. "The Einsatzgruppen," *Jewish Social Studies*, XVII, 1 (Jan. 1955), 43-64.
A documented survey of the activities of the S.S. execution squads in occupied Russia.

Trunk, Isaiah. *Lodzer Geto*. New York: Yivo, 1962.
A Yiddish history of the ghetto in Lodz. The best study of an eastern ghetto. Text and documents treat the foundation, organization, and destruction of the ghetto. Includes chapters on forced labor, health, and the *Judenrat*. Important information on deportations, including those of the German Jews sent to Lodz in 1941.

Wellers, Georges. *De Drancy à Auschwitz*. Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1946.
Important history of the French transit camp Drancy, from which Jews were deported to Auschwitz. Text and documents.

Wulf, Josef. *Lodz: das letzte Ghetto auf polnischem Boden*. Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst No. 59. Bonn, 1962.
Brief history of the Lodz ghetto. Text and documents.

Yivo Colloquium on the German-Imposed Representations before and during World War Two. New York: Yivo, 1967.
Worthwhile collection of papers on the *Judenräte*, covering Germany, France, and Holland as well as Eastern Europe.

V.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

Donat, Alexander. *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
Valuable report by a journalist and his wife about their experiences in the Warsaw ghetto, including the revolt, the extermination camp of Maidanek, and various other concentration camps.

Goldstein, Bernard. *The Stars Bear Witness*. Transl. from the Yiddish. New York: Viking, 1949. Dolphin paperback edition 1961 as *Five Years in the Warsaw Ghetto*.
Important report on the life and death of the Warsaw ghetto by the leader of the Jewish Socialist Bund.

Kaplan, Chaim Aron. *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*. Ed. and transl. by Abraham I. Katsh. New York: Macmillan, 1965. Paperback edition, including newly discovered material, published as *The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*, New York: Collier Books, 1973.
Important Hebrew diary of the Warsaw ghetto by a Russian-born Jewish educator.

Levi, Primo. *If This is a Man*. Transl. from the Italian. New York: Orion Press, 1959. Collier paperback ed. 1961 as *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*.
A dispassionate report about his experiences in Auschwitz by an Italian Jewish chemist. The best available eyewitness account of the camp world.

Nyiszli, Miklos. *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*. Translated from the Hungarian. Greenwich, Conn.: Crest Books (paperback), 1960.
Revealing account by a Hungarian Jewish physician who served in the crematoria of Auschwitz.

Ringelblum, Emmanuel. *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum.* Ed. and transl. by Jacob Sloan. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958.

Important Yiddish diary of the Warsaw ghetto by a Jewish historian.

Wells, Leon Weliczker. *The Janowska Road.* New York: Macmillan, 1963.

Valuable and impressive report by a young Jewish boy about the murder of Jewry in Eastern Galicia, including an account of the Janowska camp in Lvov (Lemberg) and of its "death brigade."

Wiesel, Elie. *Night.* Transl. from the French. New York: Avon Books (paperback), 1969.

Powerful account of the experiences of a young Jewish boy deported from Transylvania to Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

VI.

WORLD REACTIONS

The Nazi program of destruction was a true national effort, demanding for its success the cooperation of the entire German people and requiring as well the complicity—tacit if not open—of the conquered nations, the satellite governments, the churches, the neutrals, even the Allies. In the pervasive atmosphere of world-wide acquiescence, the few instances of rescue stand out as unique acts of humanity. The works in this section probe and record this world reaction.

Bernadotte, Count Folke. *The Fall of the Curtain: Last Days of the Third Reich.* Translated from the Swedish by Count Eric Lewenhaupt. London and Toronto: Cassell, 1945.

An account of the Swedish relief mission during the final hours of the war.

Bertelsen, Aage. *October '43.* Translated from the Danish by Milly Lindholm and Willy Agtby. New York: Putnam, 1954.

Story of the rescue of Danish Jewry in 1943 by a man and his wife active in the Danish student Christian movement to save Jews.

Brand, Joel and Alex Weissberg. *Desperate Mission: Joel Brand's Story.* Translated from the German. New York: Criterion Books, 1958. Paperback edition, Grove Press.

A report about the failure to ransom Hungarian Jewry. Brand, the messenger sent to Palestine, was arrested by the British, who refused to receive his proposals.

Conway, John S. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933-45.* New York: Basic Books, 1968.

Comprehensive and scholarly treatment of Nazi policy vis-a-vis the German Protestant and Catholic churches and of their reaction. Covers both persecution and compliance.

Conzemius, Victor. "Églises chrétiennes et totalitarisme national-socialiste," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* LXIII (1968), No. 2, 437-503 and Nos. 3-4, 868-948.

A scholarly and extremely valuable history of the relationship between the European churches and the Nazi regime.

Feingold, Henry L. *The Politics of Rescue: the Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970.

The scholarly history of the failure of the United States to rescue European Jewry. It treats the evasions of the government, showing how it refused to admit the Jews before or to rescue them during the slaughter. Also probes the futility of the intervention by the official American Jewish agencies. Valuable.

Flender, Harold. *Rescue in Denmark.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.

Popular, moving account by an American journalist.

Friedländer, Saul. *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation.* Translated from the French and German by Charles Fullman. New York: Knopf, 1966.

Interweaving text and documents, this book tells the story of Vatican silence during the Second World War.

———. *Kurt Gerstein: The Ambiguity of Good.* Transl. from the French and German by Charles Fullman. New York: Knopf, 1969.

A documentary biography of the tragic figure of Gerstein, the believing Christian who served in the S.S. and delivered the gas to the camps while trying to alert the world. Gerstein was the protagonist in Hochhuth's play *The Deputy.*

Friedman, Philip. *Their Brothers' Keepers.* New York: Crown, 1957.

Country by country survey of the rescue of Jews by their neighbors.

Häsler, Alfred. *The Lifeboat is Full: Switzerland and the Refugees, 1933-1945.* Transl. from the German by Charles Lane Markmann. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969.

A valuable, critical history about the Swiss policy toward Jewish refugees, showing how that nation reversed its traditional policy of granting asylum to the persecuted.

Horbach, Michael. *Out of the Night.* Transl. from the German. New York: Frederick Fell, 1967.

Rescue of Jews by Germans based on interviews by a German journalist.

Kastner, Rudolf. *Der Kastner-Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn.* Munich: Kindler, 1961.

Report about the negotiations with the Nazis concerning the ransoming of Hungarian Jewry by the Jewish negotiator for the Hungarian Jewish Rescue Committee.

Lewy, Guenter. *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*. New York: Mc-Graw-Hill (paperback), 1964.
A valuable, scholarly history of the relationship between the Nazi regime and German Catholicism, showing how the Church supported the national effort.

———. "Pius XII, the Jews, and the German catholic church," *Commentary*, XXXVII, 2 (Feb. 1964), 23-25.
A documented essay dissecting the attitudes towards the Jews in the German church, this article probes the anti-Semitism of the clergy in the Weimar Republic and the acquiescence of the episcopate in the Third Reich.

Littell, Franklin Hamlin. *The German Phoenix: Men and Movements in the Church in Germany*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960.
History of the resistance of the Protestant Church against Nazism.

Morse, Arthur D. *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*. New York: Random House, 1967 (also Ace paperback).
A valuable documented popular history of the American failure to rescue Jews.

Oppen, Beate Ruhm von. "Nazis and Christians," *World Politics*, XXI, 3 (April 1969), 392-424.
Scholarly essay stressing the resistance of the German Protestant Churches.

Sharf, Andrew. *The British Press and Jews under Nazi Rule*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
An interesting, scholarly study on the reports and reaction of the British press to the Catastrophe.

Wyman, David S. *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941*. Amherst, Mass.: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1968.
A documented history of the failure of the United States to admit Jewish refugees before the war.

Yahil, Leni. *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy*. Transl. from the Hebrew by Morris Gradel. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1969.
Scholarly history of the rescue of the Jews of Denmark in October 1943.

Zahn, Gordon C. *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars: A Study in Social Control*. New York: Sheed and Ward (paperback), 1962.
A sociological attempt to analyze the reasons for Catholic acquiescence.

POST-WAR THEOLOGICAL RESPONSES

Rubenstein, Richard L. *After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill (paperback), 1966.

Fackenheim, Emil L. *God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmation and Philosophic Reflections*. New York: Harper and Row (Torchbook paperback), 1972.

At present the two leading theological responses. Rubenstein presents a radical reinterpretation of the place of God and of the homeland in Jewish life and thought after the Holocaust; Fackenheim argues that the Holocaust has made the survival of Judaism an essential commandment for secular as well as religious Jews.

For critical interpretations of these theological responses, see:

Jacob Neusner, "Implications of the Holocaust," in Jacob Neusner, ed., *Understanding Jewish Theology* (New York: KTAV and ADL, 1973), 177-93.

Seymour Cain, "The Question and the Answers After Auschwitz," in *Judaism*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer 1971), 263-78.

Michael Wyschogrod, "Faith and the Holocaust," in *Judaism*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer 1971), 268-94.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Henry Friedlander was born in Germany in 1930. In 1941 he was deported to the Lodz ghetto and from there to Auschwitz. He emigrated to the United States in 1947.

Prof. Friedlander received his Ph.D. in modern European history from the University of Pennsylvania and is presently on the faculty of the Jewish Studies Department of the City College of the City University of New York.

Prof. Friedlander served as staff member of the Committee for the Study of War Documents and is the author of a number of the *Guides to German Records*. In addition, he has written numerous papers and articles on Weimar Germany, anti-Semitism, and the Nazi regime. Currently, he is working on the interrelationship between the Jews and German socialism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank the Walker and Gertrude Cisler Library for granting permission to reprint portions of a paper on the literature of the Holocaust originally delivered under its auspices.

I also wish to thank Mr. Harry Alderman and the staff of the Blaustein Library of the American Jewish Committee. Their facilities made possible the compilation of this bibliography.

To Martin Baron, my editor at the ADL, I want to express my sincere appreciation.